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New York

President:	Mr. Akram	(Pakistan)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Aznar
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

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03-34669 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Expression of welcome to the Prime Minister of Spain

The President: On behalf of the Security Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar, the Prime Minister of Spain.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I would like to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

The first speaker is the distinguished Prime Minister of Spain, His Excellency José María Aznar. I invite His Excellency to make his statement.

Mr. Aznar (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): It is most gratifying to me that the first hours of this visit to New York are being spent at the United Nations.

I have just had a very cordial and very satisfactory meeting with Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and it is an honour to have this opportunity to address the Security Council in order to communicate some thoughts on a subject that, for all of us, is a serious concern and a test of our ability to work for peace and security.

A little more than a month ago, on 4 April, Spain assumed the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) established by the Security Council. We assumed that duty motivated by two sentiments and an aspiration. The sentiments were those of responsibility — of shouldering our share of responsibility in our common cause against terrorism — and of solidarity with the men and women and countries that are the victims of terrorism. The aspiration is that of adding our efforts to the CTC's momentum in leading that undertaking.

Resolution 1373 (2001), which established the Committee, was adopted exactly 17 days after the terrorist attacks of 11 September. The Security Council, appalled by that eruption of horror, proved itself equal to the circumstances and was able, within only a few days, to reach agreement on adopting one of the most far-reaching texts in its history.

During the last year and a half, under the extremely effective chairmanship of the United Kingdom and the valuable support of all of members of the Council, the Committee has done an excellent job unprecedented in its breadth and scope. However, in my opinion, we must not fall into complacency. The last thing that we should permit is that 11 September should sink into oblivion, as if it had been a bad dream or a unique and unrepeatable event, or that our Committee should lapse into routine and a lack of ambition.

Terrorism certainly acquired global dimensions with 11 September, but it did not come into existence on that date. The nature and magnitude of its threat had been evident long before. From the beginning, the principal characteristics of terrorism have only been confirmed. I shall attempt briefly to sum them up.

First, terrorism is a threat against civilization — against all civilizations. It is not an unjustifiable means merely because of its recourse to indiscriminate violence. Nor is it effective in achieving its ends, because the religious or political causes that it purports to serve become its first victims. Terrorism is primitive and atavistic. Its aim is to subject and silence by means of violence, undermining free consent and free speech, which are the foundations of all civilizations.

Secondly, terrorism is a threat against democracy. It is taking shape as the new totalitarianism of the twenty-first century. The reincarnation of the totalitarianisms of the past century, it is the main enemy of open societies.

Thirdly, terrorism is a threat against international peace and security. It is a destabilizing factor and a brake on the building of a freer, safer and more just international order.

In recent years, we have lived under the influence of shifting paradigms in the defining of a new international order. In my opinion, we have all seen it demonstrated that we are not facing the end of history but, rather, a new chapter that must be written by us all. We are not facing a clash of civilizations but, rather,

the clash of the new barbarism against the civilization that it aims to destroy.

Lending credence to the idea of the existence of an inexorable antagonism between civilizations, religions or cultures amounts to falling into the trap of dialectics that the terrorists — practitioners of monologue and the enemies of dialogue — would like to impose.

We know that terrorism is one of the main challenges to the international order. The chance to universalize freedom and prosperity is one of that order's greatest opportunities. The shape of the future international order will largely depend on how we deal with the challenges and how we are able to take advantage of the opportunities.

Fourthly, all terrorism is one and the same despite its thousand different faces. It adopts different forms, but in its substance, it retains one identity. There is not domestic and international terrorism, old and new terrorism, or first- and second-class terrorism. Such classifications belong much more to the world of academic treatises than to that of political leadership and, despite its intentions, contribute to the sowing of confusion. All types of terrorism, which are the manifestation of imposition by means of violence, are fundamentally the same and must be combated with the same aggressiveness and the same absence of condescension.

Fifthly, terrorism is not something that concerns one country or another; it concerns us all. It is transnational. It exploits the vulnerabilities and gaps in the judicial order of the organization of our societies and the very dynamic of international relations. The international community as a whole finds itself challenged precisely where its fundamental values are contested.

Sixthly, terrorism is a threat that casts a long shadow over the future, and as such, we must combat it with strong and sustained tenacity. The prospects could be thoroughly ominous if the natural alliances between so-called emerging threats — in particular between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction — were to materialize.

The attributes that I have enumerated demonstrate that terrorism is a menacing but not invincible evil. Thus, we must rethink the phenomenon of terrorism and the national and international security architecture that we have been constructing to combat it.

I believe that terrorism constitutes both an ethical and a strategic challenge. The response to the first challenge requires the development of a democratic culture of opposition to terrorism, renewing the authority of principles that are essential to any society and ensuring values that we all must share.

The strategic challenge posed by terrorism requires more ambitious collective responses. I shall briefly outline some thoughts on ways to strengthen those responses.

First, I believe that we should strengthen the Counter-Terrorism Committee. We must enhance the means available to it and its capacity for supervision and for facilitating assistance to countries, as well as for coordination with other international and regional organizations. Cooperation with the disarmament agencies, especially those responsible for weapons of mass destruction, must be a priority on our agenda. In order to increase the Committee's operational capability and visibility, I believe that we should consider the possibility of empowering it to draw up a general list of terrorist organizations, similar to the list kept by the Committee established by resolution 1267 (1999) on Al Qaeda and the Taliban.

Second, I believe that the Committee should focus on certain priorities. In this connection, it is essential to strengthen mechanisms aimed at curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the availability of such weapons to terrorist groups. We must also further improve existing measures to cut off financing to and dismantle financial networks that provide resources to terrorists, who take advantage of the openness of our economies and our financial systems.

Third, we must maintain a policy of firmness. Zero tolerance for terrorism should come first in any code of conduct promulgated by the international community.

Fourth, we must increase international cooperation. Counter-terrorism assistance should be regularly incorporated into international, bilateral and multilateral cooperation programmes. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Group of Eight are called upon to play a particularly relevant role in this area.

Fifth, we must elaborate procedures to prevent terrorist groups from using the United Nations system as a platform for conveying their violent message to the world, in order to justify their actions or to obtain political advantages.

Sixth, we must give a clear voice to the victims of terrorism. We must commit ourselves to an active policy of remembering, not forgetting. We must allow victims of terrorism to speak out and to bear witness within the framework of the United Nations by setting up an institutional mechanism that can serve as their forum.

Seventh, we must deprive terrorists of any legitimacy, and we must disclose the pretexts that they use. Here, I believe that it is imperative to reactivate the Middle East peace process, with the help of the road map, and to find a solution to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Moreover, we must address the social factors that terrorist organizations use as excuses. Finally, we shall have to take initiatives aimed at fostering dialogue between civilizations, religions and cultures.

Spain is a democratic and European nation. We are facing the fight against terrorism from this dual perspective. This fight has as a basis the firm resolve to defend all the rights and freedoms of all citizens, to uphold the supremacy of law and to strengthen our solidarity towards the States committed to this common objective. In so doing, we will not only be combating a criminal phenomenon. We must also keep our societies and relations among peoples free from mistrust, fear and the threat of terrorism.

Within the sphere of the European Union, Spain, along with its partners, has actively promoted major advances in the fight against terrorism. Cooperation, which for us is particularly intensive and valuable with France, transcends the bilateral framework and has enabled the European Union to equip itself with new legal and judicial instruments and mechanisms for police cooperation.

Terrorism has not been, and will never be, a solution. It is the problem. Its defeat will require considerable effort, active collaboration and involvement by all, whether or not they feel directly threatened by this scourge.

We must therefore denounce the fact that those who are capable of committing systematic acts of the greatest brutality use the noblest causes as their pretexts. We must take action against the organizations and groups that make the operation of terrorist groups possible. We must acknowledge the pain and suffering of the victims and prevent the seeds of hatred sown by terrorism from taking root in the hearts and minds of the children and young people, through whom terrorism wishes to perpetuate itself.

As representatives of States meeting in this Organization under its founding Charter, we must renew our commitment and our efforts to prevent terrorism from undermining, in any way, dialogue and cooperation, which is the only path that will yield the solutions that our peoples need today and in future.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of Spain for his important statement.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): First of all, I would like to welcome Prime Minister Aznar to New York and also to thank him for his very insightful and important remarks and for the significance that his presence brings to the work of the Security Council in the struggle against international terrorism. We would like also to thank the Secretary-General for his presence among us today.

Terrorism constitutes a clear and present danger to the ability of all the world's people to live in peace and security. Each member of the Security Council recognizes that this is true, and each has said so repeatedly. As long as terrorists are permitted to thrive, no land is safe and no border is secure. In recent months, terrorist strikes in Indonesia, Russia, Kenya and Colombia have attacked innocent victims from a multitude of nationalities. Last year alone, the United States Department of State counted 199 significant terrorist incidents across the globe.

In New York City, we at the United Nations live and work each day in the shadow of 11 September 2001. We are charged with a heavy responsibility, and the Security Council has been responding. Its scorecard in confronting terrorism is an example of how the Council can fulfil its duty to strengthen peace and security.

Resolution 1373 (2001), adopted in the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001, is generating a worldwide juridical transformation. Spurred by resolution 1373 (2001), Member States have accelerated their accession to the 12 United

Nations Conventions and Protocols on Counter-terrorism, propagating the legal norms necessary to deter and prosecute terrorist acts across the globe.

The numbers are impressive. In September 2001 only two States were party to all 12 conventions. Today the number stands at 31, including six members of the Council, and another 36 States are closing in on the target. In the judicial universe, where, quite properly, change is slow, this is a radical shift. Clearly, with resolution 1373 (2001), the Security Council got something right.

We should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), which is charged with monitoring the implementation by States of resolution 1373 (2001), and of its current Chairman, Ambassador Arias. The CTC maintains a continual dialogue with Member States that helps to identify gaps in counter-terrorism capacity. Where outside assistance is needed, the CTC is helping States to find it.

Through the CTC, the Security Council is fostering a global counter-terrorism network. It includes scores of international institutions and regional and subregional organizations that are moving to reinforce the Council's message that there is no tolerance for terrorism in the twenty-first century. The Council has taken the fight to Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Resolutions 1267 (1999), 1390 (2002), 1452 (2002) and 1455 (2003) provide strong direction to the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) concerning Afghanistan — the 1267 Committee — which, under the leadership of Ambassador Valdés of Chile, is quietly and effectively working to block terrorist finances. Its consolidated list of terrorist entities and individuals linked to Al Qaeda and to the Taliban has led to a worldwide freeze of $134 million. Ninety-eight million dollars of those funds were frozen outside United States borders. The United Nations 1267 list currently comprises 355 individuals or entities. Forty-one countries have submitted reports to the Monitoring Group that reinforced the mandate of 1267 and constituted a key step in realizing improved implementation by States of the Al Qaeda-Taliban sanctions regime.

The list of names and the dollar figures tell only part of the story, which is about making common cause to deprive terrorists of the means to commit their crimes. Success in the war on terrorism depends on sustained international cooperation and political will. The Security Council has played an important part in fostering that cooperation and in encouraging countries and organizations to join the fight. Under the leadership of Spain, as Chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, and Chile, as Chair of the 1267 Committee, it will, I am sure, continue to do so.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom, too, is delighted to see the Spanish Prime Minister here among us in the Security Council, speaking about this extremely important subject. I must commend my Spanish colleague for achieving something in 32 days that I was unable to do in 18 months: to bring his Prime Minister to the Council to speak about counter-terrorism.

Once again, the Prime Minister has underlined for us the importance of the global approach to terrorism. Individual States acting in isolation — however powerful they may be — cannot deal with the problem of terrorism on their own. The work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) has been to establish a global coalition on the basis of 100 per cent comprehensive action against terrorism throughout the United Nations system, and it shows once again how uniquely placed the United Nations is to support and facilitate a global approach of that kind.

We believe that the Security Council has a responsibility to ensure that every Member State of the United Nations takes action to combat this threat to international peace and security. The policy we are following is superbly encapsulated by resolution 1373 (2001), which retains its unique power even 19 months after its adoption. Now, under Spain's stewardship, the Committee is tackling the global challenge of terrorism, and I commend Ambassador Arias for the vigour of his chairmanship so far. The United Kingdom will sustain its commitment to supporting the Committee and to helping to eradicate terrorism.

But we need to have a focus for the next stage, and the Prime Minister's address has given us some very important pointers in that regard. We must step up the emphasis on assistance, quickly and vigorously given to the States that need it; we need to identify needs and to match them with donors. The regional organizations have a very important part to play here, because the provision of assistance is a key test of the success of the whole CTC approach, and it is vital to change the reality on the ground in each Member State

that needs to raise the bar of its activities against terrorism.

A very important part of our mechanism now is our group — our corps, as it were — of experts, who are increasingly gaining a clear picture of the global implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). They have identified gaps in implementation, and — as I think the Spanish Chair recognizes — it is now necessary that the CTC, with the advice of experts, take action with respect to States that are falling behind on implementation. That requires a sharper critical analysis that may have its political aspects but is nevertheless essential for the CTC to engage in.

An increasingly experienced and professional Counter-Terrorism Committee must bring its concerns to the Security Council — as resolution 1456 (2003) requested, following our ministerial meeting in January. And in turn, the Council — not just the Committee — will need to be prepared to respond. Although we must continue our contacts with States through the exchange of letters, I think the time is approaching when we need to more systematically organize visits by CTC experts to Member States that could benefit from such visits and would be willing to receive them, and where the experts could help clarify areas of expertise and assistance in situations where that would be of benefit.

In that context, I was very interested to hear what the Prime Minister had to say to us about invigorating the CTC. I warmly support all his points, although I offer a word of caution about the drawing up of a list of global terrorist organizations. That will be possible when we have a fully agreed definition from the General Assembly of what terrorism is. But short of that point, there are difficulties with regard to drawing up a list within the Counter-Terrorism Committee, and I would advise a certain amount of reservation on that point.

In January the Council also discussed the dangers inherent in a world where weapons of mass destruction and terrorism coexist. The pointers that Prime Minister Aznar gave us on that are extremely welcome. We look forward to the meeting of the CTC on 15 May with the technical agencies and organizations whose activities relate to the control and use of these materials, and we hope that that contact will inform the CTC's future work programme.

Finally, I welcome the Prime Minister's emphasis on mainstreaming counter-terrorism into all United Nations activities and programmes where it is relevant. I especially welcome the symbolism of his presence here in pointing to the need for sustained political support and momentum from capitals if the CTC is to succeed.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation warmly welcomes the head of the Government of Spain, His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar. His visit is proof of his country's commitment in the fight against terrorism, and the message that he has brought us reaffirms Spain's leadership in this task — leadership that is now shown in Spain's assumption of the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Ambassador Innocencio Arias's task is shared by us all. His vitality is yet further proof of Spain's capacity to join in the efforts of the Security Council to combat terrorism.

Today, it is more than ever evident that there is an urgent need to strengthen the efforts of the international community to combat and eradicate that scourge and to keep it from endangering peaceful coexistence among nations. Mexico reiterates its condemnation of any act or manifestation of terrorism and its rejection of any argument aimed at justifying it. My country's delegation is also pleased to have the opportunity today to celebrate the bonds of deep friendship between our peoples and Governments, as well as the close ties that have united us throughout history.

The excellent cooperation that has characterized our relations also extends to the campaign against terrorism. Special circumstances have committed us on that path. In recent times, Mexico and Spain have strengthened their cooperation in this sphere. We have the necessary political will to be effective. We share purposes and objectives. Our communication is fluid. We exchange information on a daily basis and there is complete trust and respect between us.

Treaties between Mexico and Spain on extradition and mutual legal assistance are the bases of our understanding, but we recognize the magnitude of the challenge. We are aware of the resources available to the terrorists and our institutional and legal mechanisms are therefore constantly evolving. Bilateral cooperation between Mexico and Spain is carried out in this sphere in tandem with the collective

efforts of the international community. This process is sustained in a series of instruments, agreements and treaties of the United Nations. One such instrument, perhaps the most useful and the most important, is the Counter-Terrorism Committee, currently chaired by Spain, in compliance with resolution 1373 (2001).

Mexico reaffirms the priority role of the United Nations as the forum that the community of nations has created to do its work in meeting global challenges. My country is convinced that we will be more effective in combating terrorism to the extent that the will of States is expressed in the context of multilateral agreements, activities and endeavours, undertaken under international law, as opposed to unilateral actions of force.

Combating terrorism is also, in essence, a battle for freedom and the preservation of the values of human coexistence. The worst possible effect of terrorism is the destruction of legal order and the regime of democratic liberties. That is why Mexico, within the General Assembly and, recently, in the Commission on Human Rights, has promoted resolutions emphasizing the need to protect human rights in the struggle against terrorism. It has also noted the role of the Counter-Terrorism Committee in that important matter. Similarly, I would recall that, at the 20 January ministerial meeting on terrorism, the Council adopted resolution 1456 (2003), in which States were requested fully to respect human rights in all their anti-terrorism measures. Mexico will continue to cooperate in this global effort, convinced that, in the combat against terrorism, international law should be seen not as an impediment, but as a valuable arm.

Spain is a vital ally of this Council in the fight against terrorism. Mexico is well aware of the values of Spain and its people, as well as of the commitment of Prime Minister José María Aznar to fighting terrorism. Mexico knows what the Spanish people have suffered at the hands of terrorism. Terrorism does not recognize values, respect life or believe in dialogue. Terrorism respects no one. Our responsibility is to combat it together.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): France warmly welcomes the presence in our Council today of Mr. José María Aznar, Prime Minister of a friendly country. We are all the more pleased because Mr. Aznar has expressed his views on a subject that is crucial not only to Spain, but to the entire international community.

Spain, which has long been hard-hit at home by terrorism, can indeed — and, I would add, regrettably — usefully share with us its experience, dearly bought in the fight against the scourge of terrorism. Its recent accession to the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee is all the more valuable for it.

Prime Minister Aznar recalled that the States members of the European Union have not hesitated to join efforts, especially since 11 September 2001, to strengthen specific measures in all areas in order to counter terrorism more effectively. I will cite but a few telling examples here: the accelerated establishment of a European legal space and a European police force; a common definition of the act of terrorism; the creation of a European arrest warrant to replace the former extradition system; the strengthening of Europol; and enhanced measures against the financing of terrorism. Spain and France, which have cooperated closely in the campaign against terrorism, have worked together to promote the adoption of these measures.

I will now turn to the actions of our Council and the United Nations. I wish briefly to touch upon a few points.

The first is that the scourge of terrorism, being global and multifaceted, makes it essential for the entire international community to mobilize and cooperate actively and tirelessly. This mobilization must always be vigilant and operational. Over and above resolution 1373 (2001), the Security Council has a key role to play in that respect, as noted in resolution 1456 (2003), adopted on 20 January at the ministerial meeting of this Council on this issue.

My second point is that such crucial mobilization can be truly effective only to the extent that all countries which require enhanced technical assistance receive it in order to help them to strengthen their national machinery in the struggle against terrorism. It is from this perspective that France, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, has proposed in this very Chamber the establishment of a United Nations cooperation and assistance fund closely linked with the international financial institutions.

My third point is that the link between terrorism and other global threats, including the proliferation of

weapons of mass destruction, must be better taken into account. In that context, on 20 January my country announced its intention to make specific proposals, including on the elaboration of an international convention strengthening the monitoring of the use and transfer of radioactive sources.

The Security Council is of course concerned primarily about these dangerous links threatening international peace and security. It has certainly begun to deal with them, but efforts in this regard need to be enhanced. As key as it may be, its role in this area cannot be exclusive in nature. International institutions and agencies with expertise in this field must also be actively engaged.

In addition, France also attaches great importance to ensuring that the 12 existing international instruments intended to counter various types of terrorist acts — in particular the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism — are quickly ratified by all States, as called for by Security Council resolution 1373 (2001).

In conclusion, I would like to repeat our recent suggestion that the Counter-Terrorism Committee be requested to brief the Security Council about the difficulties or problems most often faced by States in their implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), as reflected in the national reports submitted to the Committee. We believe it is important for the Council to be able to discuss those aspects and their potential implications in detail.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): I would first of all like to join other delegations in welcoming the presence of Prime Minister Aznar of Spain at this meeting. I would also like to say how much we appreciate his important statement, to which we listened with great attention.

The fight against terrorism remains one of the top priorities on Germany's foreign policy agenda. I would like here to briefly point to three fundamental considerations guiding Germany's counter-terrorism policy.

First, international terrorism is a strategic threat to peace and to the international order. It is essential to fight and weaken existing terrorist structures with determination. The whole gamut of diplomatic, intelligence, police, judicial and — as *ultima ratio* — even military measures must be applied diligently. But it is just as important to prevent people from becoming terrorists: to win the battle for their hearts and minds. We therefore need a dialogue among civilizations. We need tolerance and respect for different cultures. We need economic and social development to provide people with a decent life. Crisis prevention and conflict resolution are equally high on the agenda if we want to fight terrorism successfully.

In that context, I would like to highlight the recent publication of the road map to peace in the Middle East. That initiative for a comprehensive peace — which is sponsored by the United Nations, the United States, Russia and the European Union — opens up new prospects for overcoming a conflict that has long been a breeding ground for terrorism. We hope that that road to peace will be travelled with perseverance and dedication. We will give our full support to the successful implementation of the road map.

Secondly, international terrorism requires international cooperation to defeat it. The impressive international coalition against terrorism that was forged after 11 September 2001 must be preserved and stabilized. Cooperation must be further deepened, and assistance to requesting States must be increased. It is the United Nations and its Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) that provide us with an appropriate global framework for that.

Thirdly, our fight must always be legitimized under international law. It must respect national and international law, human rights and the United Nations Charter. Human rights in particular should not be suspended on the pretext of combating terrorism. After all, this fight is not only about defending our security, but also about our fundamental values: freedom, democracy and human rights.

Strengthening the rule of law and efficient administrative structures worldwide is one of the main objectives of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. The CTC's chairmanship has recently passed smoothly from the able hands of Ambassador Greenstock into those of Ambassador Arias. We wish him well, and we wish him lots of success. Prime Minister Aznar's presence here underlines Spain's firm commitment to a continued strong and effective role to be played by the CTC. We assure him that the German delegation will continue to fully support the Committee's work.

Mr. Boubacar Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for

convening this meeting. I would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate my delegation's congratulations to you on your country's accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of May 2003. I assure you of our full cooperation. We would also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, and his entire team for the excellent job they did during Mexico's presidency of the Council. In addition, I would like to welcome His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar, Prime Minister of Spain, and to convey to him our gratitude for the valuable information he has just given us.

The Prime Minister's important statement serves to further enlighten us as to the various manifestations of terrorism and about the measures to be taken to eradicate it. The suggestions he made in that regard deserve our attention.

The new nature of this scourge, as well as the means required, have called for further measures, which have taken form through the adoption of a number of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The initiatives taken by other actors, including international, regional and subregional organizations and institutions, are in line with that approach.

I would like to reiterate our appreciation to the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) for the very valuable results it has already achieved. We encourage it to continue in the same vein. We would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate our congratulations to Spain, which assumed the chairmanship of the Committee on 4 April, and to assure it of our full support.

My delegation continues to believe that the struggle against terrorism is a long-term endeavour whose scope and complexity require the cooperation of all members of the international community. In that connection, my delegation — which attaches particular importance to the issue of assistance — once again calls upon donors to better coordinate their efforts with the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

We are convinced that the views expressed here this afternoon will help us to further engage in collective thinking about how to fight terrorism. I would like to conclude by saying that my country, whose counter-terrorism policy has been made known on several occasions, will continue to make its modest contribution to the international community's efforts to combat and ultimately eliminate this scourge.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Like my other colleagues, I too would like to welcome Prime Minister Aznar of Spain to the Council Chamber. I also wish to thank him for his important statement. We are confident that, as chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), Spain and Ambassador Arias will further implement the Committee's mandate under resolution 1373 (2001) and will ensure the continuity of the work already done by building upon the traditions established by the United Kingdom during Ambassador Greenstock's chairmanship of the Committee.

Time has proven the strategic validity of building a global counter-terrorism system, specifically under the auspices of the United Nations. Global anti-terrorist solidarity is growing, and the coalition of States committed to it is expanding. The global community is employing new methods to counter the current threat of terrorism.

The Security Council has played the primary role in safeguarding international peace and security from terrorism. The Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) was established in the wake of the tragic events of 11 September 2001, and it remains the leading element in the global anti-terrorist architecture. The powerful policy and legal impetus provided by resolution 1373 (2001), as well as ministerial statements and Council decisions on countering terrorism, are producing tangible results. A majority of countries are actively enhancing their anti-terrorist legislation. There are more than 250 accession to the universal anti-terrorist conventions since the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001). Bilateral cooperation is growing. It is becoming increasingly difficult for terrorists to find a safe haven in which to hide from justice.

The mobilization of regional efforts is an important new element in the global anti-terrorist system. It is heartening to note not only the strengthening of existing structures at this level, but also the establishment of new ones. There was deservedly broad approval of the special CTC meeting of 6 March, in which representatives of regional and subregional organizations and of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization took part. We welcome the idea of holding another such meeting in October this year, to be convened by the Organization of American States. Such interaction with regional organizations must become as regular and substantive as possible so that

the CTC can increasingly rely on the growing practical engagement of regional organizations in carrying out specific counter-terrorism tasks. An equally important role in countering terrorism is also to be played by a number of United Nations bodies, under the overall leadership of the Security Council.

Terrorism is a mortal danger. It can be dealt with only by finding ways to end other destructive manifestations of our time — transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other social and economic ills. Such a holistic and systemic approach, based on the principles of universality and multilateralism, will be advanced by General Assembly resolution 57/145 — adopted as a result of a Russian initiative — on responding to global threats and challenges.

With regard to the international legal basis for countering terrorism, we must express our disappointment at the stagnation in work on the draft comprehensive convention against terrorism and the draft convention against nuclear terrorism. The lack of progress on those issues stems from political, not legal, causes, and will only play into the hands of terrorists. We call upon all States to demonstrate the will and wisdom to reach agreement on those two draft conventions as soon as possible. For its part, Russia will continue to do everything it can in order to maintain and strengthen international cooperation to counter terrorism.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is an honour for me to welcome His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar, Prime Minister of Spain, to the Security Council. I would like to assure him that his presence represents the bright side of Spain's commitment to the centrality of the role of the Security Council in combating the threats to peace and security that confront our world today. We express our confidence in the role that Spain will continue to play, inside and outside the Council, including in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this important meeting in the presence of Prime Minister Aznar. The fact that he is present is the most eloquent expression of the importance that Spain attaches to combating terrorism. Mr. Aznar spoke about his friendly country's vision of the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) in the coming period under the chairmanship of Spain. We stress our condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including State terrorism. We would like to highlight once again our support for Spain in its leadership of the CTC and our readiness to make every possible effort to guarantee Spain's success in guiding this important aspect of the work of the Security Council. We are confident that Ambassador Arias will guide the work of the Committee diligently, with great diplomacy, skill and wisdom.

We would like to take this opportunity to say that our people urgently need the support of the Council and the Counter-Terrorism Committee in putting an end to the occupation of their lands. Occupation and the practices of occupation are the most heinous manifestations of terrorism. We are fully confident that the unity of the Council in working to combat true terrorism will be a guarantee that all of us will be able to get rid of international terrorism in all its forms and evil manifestations.

For its part, Syria is ready to continue to cooperate with the leadership of Spain in combating terrorism in implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), just as we cooperated in the past with Ambassador Greenstock. Syria was among the first countries to present its report to the CTC. We truly hope that we will be able to work together, here in the Council as well as in the General Assembly, with a view to arriving at an international understanding and definition of the concept of terrorism, determining the criteria that would enable us to define terrorism, as well as understanding and discussing its root causes and the need to address them in the context of international cooperation, including an international conference on the subject. It should not be left to each of us to develop his own definition of terrorism at whim.

Mr. Aznar drew our attention to a very dangerous subject: the relationship between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. He was right to do so. We would like to stress here that Syria shares the concern of the Prime Minister of Spain. That is why we submitted a draft resolution to the Security Council with the intention of declaring the Middle East region a zone free from weapons of mass destruction. It included a special paragraph noting the need to prevent any terrorist organization from gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. We had hoped that all members would support that draft resolution.

We would like to thank the Prime Minister of Spain for recalling the need to establish peace in the Middle East region, and we would like to stress that the peace to be brought about in the region should be comprehensive and just and should be based on the Madrid terms of reference, as well as the provisions of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land for peace. Those principles will constitute the basis for achieving a just and comprehensive peace if they are accompanied by the necessary political will and are considered in the context of the Arab initiative launched at Beirut in March 2002.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in Spanish*): I want to take this opportunity to extend my delegation's most sincere congratulations to you, Sir, and to the delegation of Pakistan on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I also thank Ambassador Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico for his dynamic presidency of the Council last month.

I listened with great interest to the statement made by His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar, President of the Government of Spain. His participation today in the work of the Council is an honour and a privilege for us. The presence of the President of the Government of Spain at our meeting here in New York is an important demonstration of Spain's leadership and its central role not only at the European level but also at the global level in the fight against terrorism.

Spain's priorities, guidelines and philosophy for countering terrorism are fully in line with Bulgaria's vision of this problem, whose seriousness can hardly be exaggerated. Bulgaria welcomes Spain's assumption of the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee through Ambassador Inocencio Arias, a particularly experienced and talented colleague. There is no doubt that the Spanish chairmanship of the Committee will contribute to speeding up the legislative process in United Nations Member countries, creating a consistent a consistent and coherent legal framework that includes the broadest possible participation of States in the 12 United Nations anti-terrorism conventions. The Committee's cooperation with regional organizations is essential to an effective fight against terrorism. The Council's 6 March meeting with representatives of regional and subregional organizations was proof of the immense potential of those organizations.

For its part, Bulgaria's future chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) will give priority to the fight against terrorism in the activities of that important European organization.

In my country's opinion, preventing at all levels terrorist groups from acquiring weapons of mass destruction is an absolute priority and an immediate objective of extreme importance for the international community. In that context, the 15 May meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee with representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Interpol and other organizations should be an opportunity for formulating means of cooperation between the Committee and those organizations.

The principal objective of terrorists is to undermine the foundations of modern civilization, whose core is without doubt international legality. In the fight against terrorism, we must respect the norms of international law. Not to do so would mean a battle won by the terrorists. We would lose not only a battle but even the war against terrorism if we allowed terrorism to attack the world's civilizations and religions. Terrorism does not belong to any civilization, religion, nationality or political or ethnic group. There is no such thing as good terrorism and bad terrorism. It is a terrible scourge that needs be combated relentlessly.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): We welcome the Prime Minister of Spain, His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar, to the Security Council and thank him for his insightful statement.

Terrorism is a threat to all humankind. We should combat it resolutely whenever, wherever and for whatever motive it occurs. Since its inception, the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) has played an important role in assisting countries to implement resolution 1373 (2001), particularly in the areas of strengthening counter-terrorism legislation, institution-building and promoting international cooperation on counter-terrorism.

A moment ago, the Prime Minister of Spain put forward some specific proposals. We are ready to discuss those proposals. We believe that under the Spanish chairmanship, the CTC will continue to make progress in its work. The Chinese delegation will provide the CTC with active and full cooperation.

In recent years, the majority of countries have stressed these prominent issues with respect to practices for combating terrorism: strengthening international cooperation on counter-terrorism, eradicating the sources of terrorism, actively promoting solutions for regional hot spots, promoting and deepening the dialogue among civilizations and curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Enhancing international consensus on those issues and gradually adopting effective and practical measures in that regard are the keys to further reinforcing, and making additional gains in, the international campaign against terrorism. The United Nations should meet that challenge by playing a pivotal role in the international fight against terrorism.

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, Mr. President, I would like to thank you for taking the initiative of organizing this public meeting of the Council on counter-terrorism in the presence of the Prime Minster of Spain, His Excellency Mr. José María Aznar, whom I welcome here on behalf of the delegation of Cameroon. I would also like to thank him for the excellence of his statement, for the accuracy and depth of his comments, for the relevance of his analysis and for his proposals.

The presence at this meeting of the Prime Minister of Spain testifies beyond doubt to his refusal to capitulate to terrorism, the evil of this century. His presence here also strengthens the political impetus that our Ministers for Foreign Affairs gave on 20 January to the structures of the global coalition to combat terrorism. His presence reaffirms the central and important role that the United Nations must play in our common fight against terrorism. As well, his presence helps consolidate the efforts of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001), which the Permanent Representative of Spain, my colleague Ambassador Inocencio Arias, has chaired so effectively since April.

Spain, which for a number of years has been subject to waves of terrorist attacks, has considerable experience in combating terrorism.

The Prime Minister's Government has not yielded to terrorism, which he has qualified as a "brutal, terrible and bestial campaign". He has adopted a firm stance and has taken the necessary measures. His tenacity has won him admiration and serves as an example.

The scourge of terrorism, this pernicious evil — as he said so eloquently a few moments ago — spare no civilization and no country, because it attacks society indiscriminately, as a whole. The morning after the events of 11 September 2001, on the occasion of the ceremonial opening of the judicial session, His Majesty King Juan Carlos I called for

> "concerted action on the part of all countries to combat terrorism and to find new forms of legal cooperation among democratic nations".

This stems from Spain's heightened awareness of the seriousness of the threat posed by terrorism and of the scope of the destruction it causes.

Our common security can be ensured only if we all are committed to a tireless and relentless struggle to find the perpetrators of terrorist acts and their accomplices. The links that have been established with transnational crime call for vigilance and for a global response.

We have always said that combating terrorism must involve a multi-pronged approach. It is in this perspective that, a few months ago, addressing diplomats posted in Yaoundé, Paul Biya, President of Cameroon, suggested the following three prongs of attack: a national strategy to combat terrorism within each country; increased international cooperation through exchanges of information, experience and joint action; and the uprooting of evil. Indeed, it is evident that only suppression can work against fanatics who know no logic and no morality. We must not forget that poverty, injustice and conflicts are often fertile soil for the seeds of terrorism. We are pleased to see that that same concern is shared by the Prime Minister of Spain.

On the legal front, robust international laws are necessary to combat this scourge, which is an affront to human rights and to the norms of humanitarian law. We must complement existing norms by adopting the comprehensive convention on terrorism as soon as possible, as well as the convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism.

With respect to strengthening national capacities, technological disparities among States provide loopholes that are exploited by terrorist groups for their activities. Addressing these disparities necessarily requires unfailing international solidarity, primarily through an ambitious and realistic programme of

assistance which is easily accessible for States that require that assistance.

The appeal launched on 12 September 2001 by the Prime Minister of Spain for the establishment of a single European security space to combat terrorism is part of this dynamic approach. The 1999 Algiers Convention must be complied with. In that Convention, Africa agreed to organize to prevent and to combat terrorism. The implementation of the related United Nations Plan of Action calls for multi-pronged international cooperation.

Combating terrorism must be a long-term endeavour. United and resolute, we can overcome this global scourge.

In conclusion, I wish once again to express the appreciation of my delegation to the Prime Minister of Spain for his visit and for his proposals. The CTC will certainly draw on those suggestions.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity provided us to have here in the Council this afternoon with us the President of the Government of Spain, Mr. José María Aznar. He honours us with his presence. We welcome the very insightful proposals and suggestions that Mr. Aznar has put forward this afternoon on the nature of international terrorism and the efforts required to combat it.

Undoubtedly the painful but admirable struggle carried out by the Government and the people of Spain against terrorism within their own borders gives them the greatest legitimacy to provide us with unquestionable leadership in this sphere. Prime Minister Aznar was quite right when he asked us today to remember the deeper meaning of 11 September 2001, because we could not have seen in a more transparent or brutal fashion the global and worldwide character of this threat, which has no direct target but rather crosses though and over borders, bearing its hateful message against all civilizations and attacking the very nature of humankind.

We welcome also the fact that Prime Minister Aznar has practical suggestions for this Organization in combating terrorism. As has been said earlier today, coordinated action by the Counter-Terrorism Committee established by resolution 1373 (2001), chaired by my dear friend Ambassador Inocencio Arias, and by the Committee established by resolution 1267 (1999) represents the basis for the success of our efforts within the United Nations. While those committees have a legal nature and different competencies, they must be increasingly linked and coordinated. Over the past month we have further enhanced the level of cooperation and coordination with Ambassador Arias, avoiding duplication in the activities of those Committees, in order to ensure the consistency of their joint efforts, thus giving us the opportunity to work, on a periodic basis, to ensure the effectiveness and the potential of the United Nations and the role of the Security Council in this area.

Both Committees must involve the whole United Nations membership in efforts to block funds used to carry out or promote terrorist activities, to prevent the free passage and circulation of terrorists and of those who protect them, and to block the circulation of weapons for use by terrorists. We must congratulate make an effort to States that improve their domestic legislation by incorporating new laws based on Security Council resolutions and must provide technical cooperation to assist those that have difficulties in carrying out that effort.

The work of both Committees, the active participation in them by all Security Council members and the cooperation of all members of the international community prove the indispensable and irreplaceable role of the United Nations in the fight against terrorism. The Organization's authority, its scope, its legitimacy and, above all, the way in which it can express its Members' will to cooperate are the best guarantee of an effective fight against this blight on humanity.

We know that, in a globalized world, the fate of each of our countries is that of all peoples. Therefore, the fight against terrorism is not only a matter for Governments, but must involve our civil societies. It must be developed within a framework of legitimacy and clear respect for human rights and international law. We therefore thank Prime Minister Aznar for his presence and his statement today; They provide an opportunity to reaffirm Chile's firm resolve to contribute to the efforts of the international community in a struggle that, as he said, must be relentless.

The President: I shall now make a few remarks in my capacity as representative of Pakistan.

Pakistan joins previous speakers in welcoming His Excellency the Prime Minister of Spain to the

Security Council and in thanking him for his important address to the Council. We congratulate Spain on assuming the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC).

For more than 20 years, Pakistan, like Spain, has been one of the principal victims of terrorism. We condemn terrorism in all its forms, including State terrorism. Since 11 September 2001, Pakistan has been at the forefront of the campaign against terrorism, and we have made many sacrifices in that struggle. We believe that the Security Council has a central role in the campaign against terrorism, and we support the strengthening of that role. We have listened to the Prime Minister's recommendations, which all deserve careful consideration. We believe, nevertheless, that the principal role of the CTC is to assist States to effectively counter terrorism.

We believe that there are four other considerations that need to be taken into account in the campaign against terrorism. First, we need to address the underlying causes of terrorism in order to prevent the emergence of terrorists. We believe that political and economic justice is essential for that. Secondly, as Secretary-General Kofi Annan has said, we must ensure that counter-terrorism measures do not mutate into measures used to cloak or justify violations of human rights. Thirdly, the right to self-determination, where recognized by the international community, cannot be delegitimized through association with terrorism. To do so would be to sanction the strangulation of the very freedoms that we seek to defend against terrorism. Fourthly, tolerance and mutual understanding are essential to defeat the hate and anger on which terrorism thrives. Pakistan has proposed the adoption of a declaration on mutual tolerance and understanding among religions and civilizations, which we hope the General Assembly will soon adopt.

In September 2001, Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated:

> "[If] the world can show that it will carry on, that it will persevere in creating a stronger, more just, more benevolent and more genuine international community across all lines of religion and race, then terrorism will have failed." (*The New York Times, 21 September 2001, p. A-35*)

Spain is well qualified to guide such an effort. It was, after all, in the land of Spain where three great religions — Christianity, Islam and Judaism — came together to create the flowering of freedom and tolerance in a great civilization to which we must continue to aspire even today.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I shall suspend the meeting for five minutes to escort the Prime Minister of Spain from the Council Chamber. On behalf of the Council, I thank him for being with us this afternoon.

The meeting was suspended at 6.10 p.m. and resumed at 6.15 p.m.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.